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In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

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In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

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The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

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This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[1]

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[1] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[93] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[94] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[93] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142-43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[94] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

[SALVADOR]

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[798 62] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162 795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [891 777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

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665 666 578 828 [646] This means that Brazilians born in other States have made careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover, had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 577 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination; the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good 181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti- 182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 829 186 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 * 563 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
[646] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
[467] in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 666 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 666 829 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to have its own representation in the government (1),

> 1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 •665 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of whom

[SALVADOR]

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*563 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A
• 665 merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

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*563 At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were
666 candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral
646 tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known,
[162] however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type of their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] [668] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revolução social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their assertion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of [665]

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

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/59/ The Army

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Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

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*563 668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.